



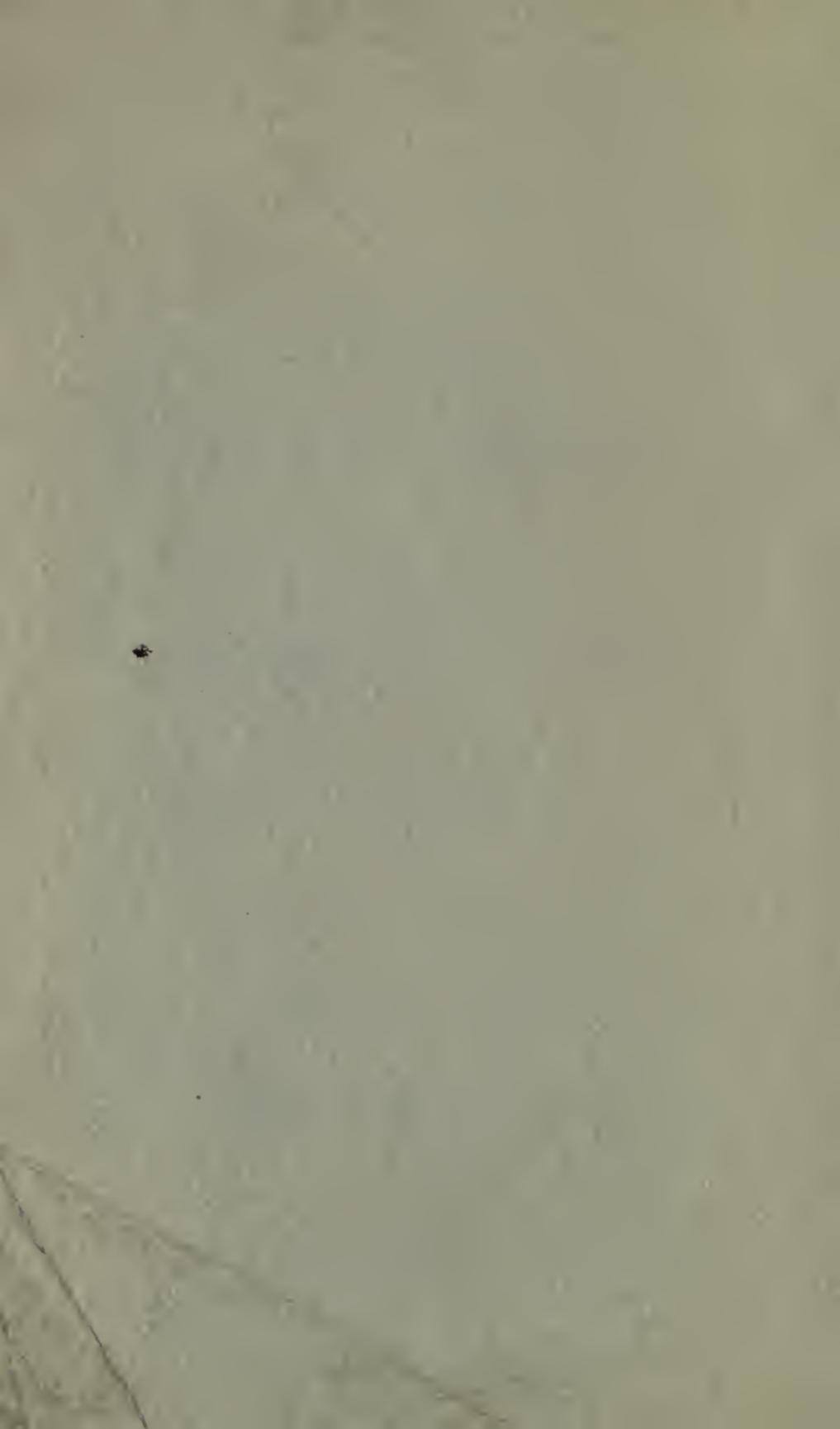
THE PRESIDENT
ON THE WAR

THE UNITED STATES
IN THE 20TH CENTURY

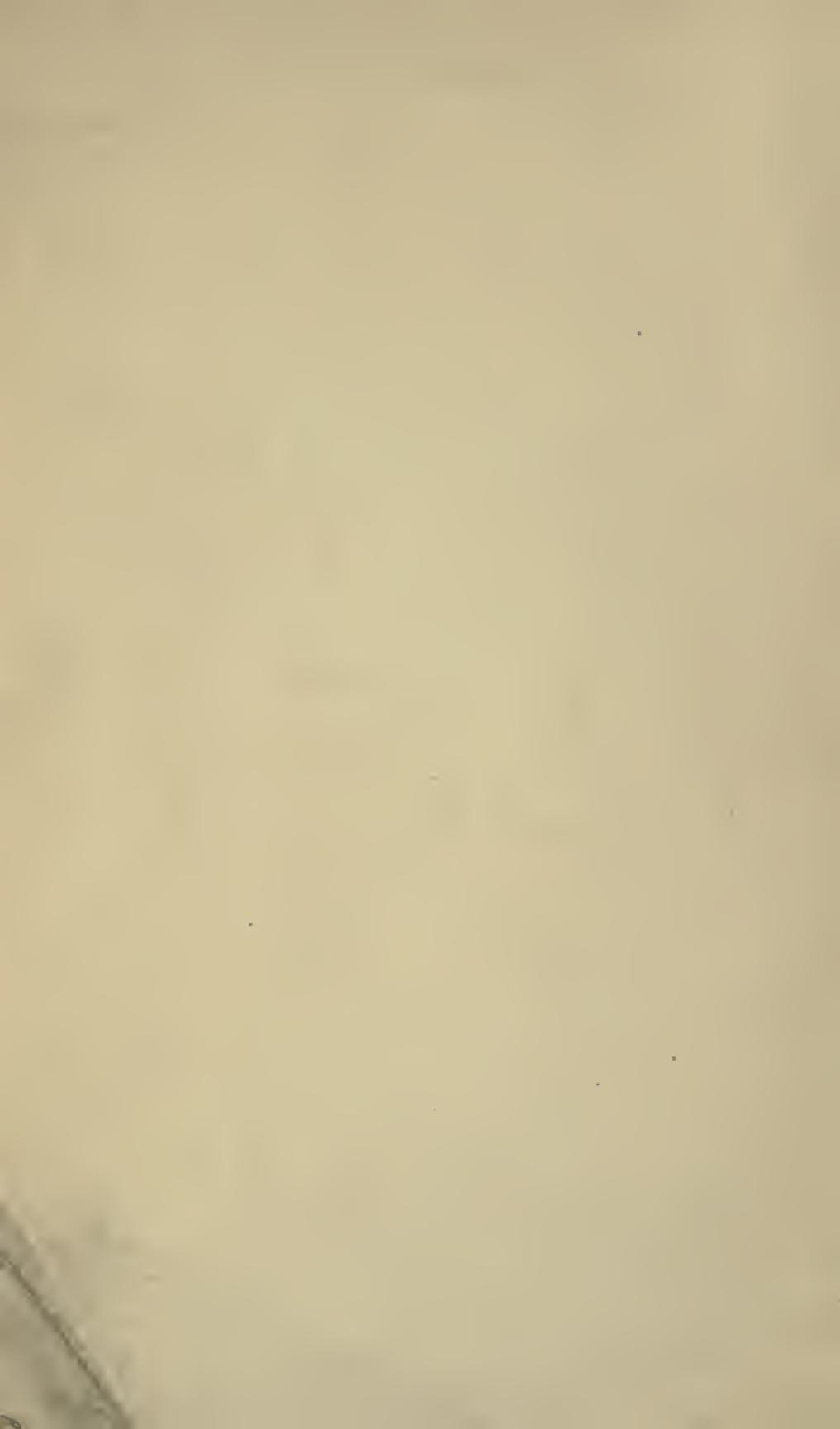
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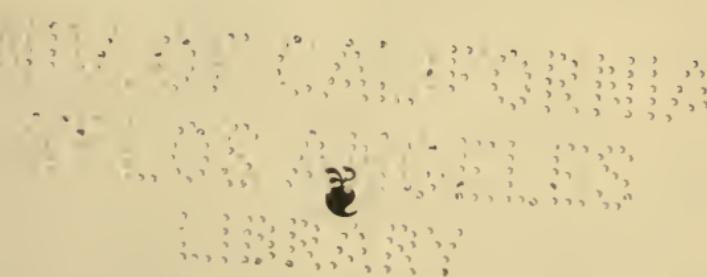


ADDRESSES
BY
PRESIDENT MCKINLEY
AND
SENATOR C. K. DAVIS

IN THE
REPORTING STYLE

OF

GRAHAM'S
STANDARD PHONOGRAPHY



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PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S ADDRESS
ON
THE WAR WITH SPAIN

Delivered at the Omaha Exposition, October, 1898.

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THE PRESIDENT ON THE WAR.

HIS ADDRESS AT THE PEACE JUBILEE OF THE OMAHA EXPOSITION.

Gentlemen of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition and Fellow-Citizens: It is with great pleasure that I meet once more the people of Omaha, whose wealth of welcome is not altogether unfamiliar to me, and whose warm hearts have before touched and moved me. For this renewed manifestation of your regard, and for the cordial reception of to-day, my heart responds with profound gratitude and a deep appreciation which I cannot conceal, and which the language of compliment is inadequate to convey.

My greeting is not alone to your city and the State of Nebraska, but to the people of all the States of the Trans-Mississippi group participating here, and I cannot withhold congratulations on the evidences of their prosperity furnished by this great Exposition. If testimony were needed to establish the fact that their pluck has not deserted them, and that prosperity is again with them, it is found here. This picture dispels all doubt.

In an age of expositions they have added yet another magnificent example. The historical celebrations at Philadelphia and Chicago and the splendid exhibits at New Orleans, Atlanta and Nashville are now a part of the past, and yet in influence they still live and their beneficent results are closely interwoven with our National development. Similar rewards will honor the authors and patrons of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. Their contribution will mark another epoch in the Nation's material advancement.

One of the great laws of life is progress, and nowhere have the principles of this law been so strikingly illustrated as in the United States. A century and a decade of our National life

have turned doubt into conviction: changed experiment into demonstration; revolutionized old methods and won new triumphs, which have challenged the attention of the world. This is true not only of the accumulation of material wealth and advance in education, science, invention and manufactures, but, above all, in the opportunities to the people for their own elevation, which have been secured by wise free government.

Hitherto, in peace and in war, with additions to our territory and slight changes in our laws, we have steadily enforced the spirit of the Constitution secured to us by the noble self-sacrifice and far-seeing sagacity of our ancestors. We have avoided the temptations of conquest in the spirit of gain. With an increasing love for our institutions, and an abiding faith in their stability, we have made the triumphs of our system of government in the progress and prosperity of our people an inspiration to the whole human race. Confronted at this moment by new and grave problems, we must recognize that their solution will not affect ourselves alone, but others of the family of nations.

In this age of frequent interchange and mutual dependency, we cannot shirk our international responsibilities if we would; they must be met with courage and wisdom, and we must follow duty even if desire opposes. No deliberation can be too mature or self-control too constant in this solemn hour of our history. We must avoid the temptation of undue aggression and aim to secure only such results as will promote our own and the general good.

It has been said by some one that the normal condition of nations is war. That is not true of the United States. We never enter upon war until every effort for peace without it has been exhausted. Ours has never been a military Government. Peace, with whose blessings we have been so singularly favored, is the national desire and the goal of every American aspiration.

On April 25th for the first time for more than a generation the United States sounded the call to arms. The banners of war were unfurled, the best and bravest from every section responded; a mighty army was enrolled; the North and the South vied with each other in patriotic devotion; science was invoked to furnish its most effective weapons; factories were rushed to supply

equipments, the youth and the veteran joined in freely offering their services to the country, volunteers and regulars and all the people rallied to the support of the Republic. There was no break in the line, no halt in the march, no fear in the heart, no resistance to the patriotic impulse at home, no successful resistance to the patriotic spirit of the troops fighting in distant waters or on a foreign shore.

What a wonderful experience it has been from the standpoint of patriotism and achievement! The storm broke so suddenly that it was here almost before we realized it. Our Navy was too small, though forceful with its modern equipment, and most fortunate in its trained officers and sailors. Our Army had years ago been reduced to a peace footing. We had only nineteen thousand available troops when the war was declared, but the account which officers and men gave of themselves on the battlefields has never been surpassed. The manhood was there and everywhere. American patriotism was there, and its resources were limitless.

The courageous and invincible spirit of the people proved glorious, and those who a little more than a third of a century ago were divided and at war with each other were again united under the holy standard of liberty. Patriotism banished party feeling; fifty million of dollars for the National defence was appropriated without debate or division, as a matter of course and as only a mere indication of our mighty reserve power.

But if this is true of the beginning of the war, what shall we say of it now, with hostilities suspended and peace near at hand, as we fervently hope? Matchless in its results, unequalled in its completeness and the quick success with which victory followed victory, attained earlier than it was believed to be possible, so comprehensive in its sweep that every thoughtful man feels the weight of responsibility which has been so suddenly thrust upon us! And, above all and beyond all, the valor of the American Army and the bravery of the American Navy and the majesty of the American name stand forth in unsullied glory, while the humanity of our purposes and the magnanimity of our conduct have given to war, always horrible, touches of noble generosity, Christian sympathy and charity, and examples of

human grandeur which can never be lost to mankind. Passion and bitterness formed no part of our impelling motive, and it is gratifying to feel that humanity triumphed at every step of the war's progress.

The heroes of Manila and Santiago and Porto Rico have made immortal history. They are worthy successors and descendants of Washington and Greene; of Paul Jones, Decatur and Hull, and of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Logan; of Farragut, Porter and Cushing, and of Lee, Jackson and Longstreet. New names stand out on the honor roll of the Nation's great men, and with them, unnamed, stand the heroes of the trenches and the forecastle, invincible in battle and uncomplaining in death. The intelligent, loyal, indomitable soldier and sailor and marine, regular and volunteer, are entitled to equal praise as having done their whole duty, whether at home or under the baptism of foreign fire. Who will dim the splendor of their achievements? Who will withhold from them their well-earned distinction? Who will intrude detraction at this time to belittle the manly spirit of the American youth and impair the usefulness of the American Navy! Who will embarrass the Government by sowing seeds of dissatisfaction among the brave men who stand ready to serve and die if need be for their country? Who will darken the counsels of the Republic in this hour requiring the united wisdom of all? Shall we deny to ourselves what the rest of the world so freely and so justly accords to us? The men who endured in the short but decisive struggle its hardships, its privations, whether in the field or in the camp, on ship or in siege, and planned and achieved its victories, will never tolerate an impeachment, either direct or indirect, of those who won a peace whose great gain to civilization is yet unknown and unwritten.

The faith of a Christian nation recognizes the hand of Almighty God in the ordeal through which we have passed. Divine favor seemed manifest everywhere. In fighting for humanity's sake we have been signally blest. We did not seek war. To avoid it, if this could be done in justice and honor to the rights of our neighbors and ourselves, was our constant prayer. The war was no more invited by us than were the questions which are

laid at our door by its results. Now, as then, we will do our duty. The problems will not be solved in a day. Patience will be required; patience, combined with sincerity of purpose, and unshaken resolution to do right, seeking only the highest good of the Nation and recognizing no other obligation, pursuing no other path but that of duty.

Right action follows right purpose. We may not at all times be able to divine the future, the way may not always seem clear, but if our aims are high and unselfish, somehow and in some way the right end will be reached. The genius of the Nation, its freedom, its wisdom, its humanity, its courage, its justice favored by divine providence, will make it equal to every task and the master of every emergency,

THE UNITED STATES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

U. S. SENATOR CUSHMAN K. DAVIS'S VIEW OF OUR PART IN A GREAT
SECULAR CHANGE IN THE WORLD.

From a Speech Delivered at St. Paul on July 27, 1898.

It has recently been revealed with astonishing clearness that the civilization of Europe, and also that of the United States particularly, have been in an unconscious process of preparation for destinies heretofore unperceived. In what manner the performance is to be I do not venture to predict. To do so would be the merest speculative temerity. The great movements of humanity are originated, directed, and controlled by a Supreme Power. Man merely utilizes them. If he attempts to thwart them they crush him. No State ever yet succeeded in diverting any of the purposes or ultimates of its own existence.

It is now apparent to the least attentive observer that a great secular change is taking place throughout the world. Ancient international balances have become unpoised. Old pivots of equilibrium have ceased to be central. Commercial and territorial advantages which, until recently, seemed to be impregnably fortified by national wealth, by military and naval preponderance, by prestige, alliance, and prescription, have been encroached upon and endangered. The process has been irresistible. It has not been solely effected by wars; they have been merely its instruments. It has proceeded with the calm, daily, resistless force of a great creative operation of nature. Humanity has at intervals repeatedly accomplished such move-

ments. They have been more overpowering than conquests, more enduring than empire—for monarchies have been built upon their surface, have encumbered or adorned them for a little time, as time is measured in the life of nations, and then their ruins have been borne along in the august and unceasing procession. The mysterious Aryan migration was one of these evolutions. It went around the world. It re-entered India with the English. It is now forcing its entrance into China.

The results of the mediæval impulse or inspiration toward maritime discovery are disclosed in history, but who can designate the cause that impelled the nations, at about the close of the fifteenth century, to run the course of all the seas until by that generation America was discovered, the Cape of Good Hope was circumnavigated, the Straits of Magellan were traversed and until great ocean held no secrets that were not locked in the ice of either pole? The results surpassed any political conception ever bodied forth by statesman, philosopher, or poet.

It has always remained an insoluble problem of that great achievement of discovery and conquest why China, which was even then in the decrepitude of age, though retaining great wealth with all the tenacity of senile avarice, was unmolested until very recently by the forces which possessed America and the Indies. It was, when the age of discovery began, the oldest empire in the world ; it was the largest and richest ; it contained one-fourth of the human race and it was easily vulnerable. Why did England limit herself to India ? Why did Spain stop at Manila ? Why did the Dutch remain satisfied with Java, Borneo, Sumatra, and New Guinea ? Why was France content with her precarious Indian establishments ? Why was Portugal stationary at Goa, Timor, and Macao ?

Why China was spared is, perhaps, a profitless speculation. We now encounter the fact that at the close of the nineteenth century the oldest, the most populous, and one of the most extensive and richest of empires, immobile by the ossification of an immemorial civilization which long ago did its work ; an empire infected all throughout with official imbecility and corruption ; an empire which for a long time forcibly resisted the influences of Western civilization and then submitted to them little

by little, only to impede them by feeble and crafty evasions; an empire which has not dissolved in its decadence, but yet remains in respect of population the most stupendous national unit of this or any age, industrious, productive, selling much and buying little even now as in her remotest ages; which for thousands of years has received the precious metals in an unreturning stream; whose inhabitants are skilled in all crafts and possess unsurpassed aptitudes alike for mechanical construction and for commerce; an empire which possesses the elements of national greatness in the intelligence of its people, in the entire absence of caste, in the absolute personal equality of all men, and in their eligibility to all vocations and offices, in the non-existence of any repressive religious system, and in universal education, has all at once yielded without resistance to the encroachments of Europe, and is about to become, as literally as were Mexico and Peru, the subject of its designs, and in effect its territorial dependency. History has nowhere recorded a change so vast and portentous. It involves the most prodigious expansion of commerce and empire ever effected. It influences the relations of all civilized States, and from every point of view it endangers the safety of many of them. In all respects the interests of the United States in this transformation are of the most vital character.

It will be well to notice certain ethnic and national phenomena contemporaneous with this great process and which have contributed to it. Within the present century the nations of Europe have politically and definitely arranged themselves by races. The boundaries of empires have been readjusted to this classification. The Slavonic, the Latin, and the Teutonic stocks present themselves nationally and most determinately in this aspect. The Anglo-Saxon race had long before classified itself into two great political organizations.

But it was not until very recently that Great Britain and the United States looked each other in the face with any sign of recognition of their political relationship. It is well for them, for civilization, for national independence, and for personal freedom that they have begun to do so. The isolation of England from the other States of Europe is manifest. Her isolation

from the United States has always existed, and principally as the result of petty differences as to boundaries, fisheries, sterile treaties, and small conflicting policies in other respects. The United States has been isolated by a special policy and by its geographical position. This coalescence of nationalities has been accompanied by a vast territorial acquisition by the European States by which the continent of Africa has been partitioned among them. The boundaries of German Africa, French Africa, Portuguese Africa, Spanish Africa, and English Africa are in course of definite determination. An Italian Africa seemed probable and would have been established but for the ability of King Menelek, who defeated the European invaders and practically expelled them from his kingdom. It is now asserted that the Abyssinian monarch was, throughout his struggle with Italy, advised and aided by Russia, and that we may expect soon to witness a Russian Africa. The general direction of this movement in Africa is toward the Orient. Its most active manifestations and capital centres are on the east coast of Africa and in Madagascar, fronting the Indian Ocean and looking toward India.

There is also to be noticed another significant eastward tendency. Whether it is a mere coincidence or is a part of the general political and commercial movement is at present purely conjectural. It is not a conjectural statement, however, that these great human precessions are always accompanied by ancillary changes of pre-existing forces and conditions with which their connection cannot always be distinctly perceived. The centre of manufacturing production in Europe is moving eastward. Germany has become within the last thirty years a great manufacturing nation. She has ceased to be a market in any great degree for any other country. She builds her own ships. She produces an infinite variety of manufactured articles of all kinds—textile, metallic, and miscellaneous. Her sugar product is greater than that of any other country. She has become a great maritime and commercial nation and is seeking for markets with astonishing energy in South America, in Africa, and most rapaciously in China, where she has recently established herself by military and naval force, and is seriously to be reck-

oned with in the process of exploiting her power in that great empire.

The movement of Russia toward the East is not a mere tendency. It has been in actual operation ever since Peter the Great sent Vitus Bering overland from St. Petersburg to the sea which bears his name. It is now exhibiting its Titanic energy in the construction of the trans-Siberian railway. This undertaking has accelerated the recent action of the other European powers in regard to China, and has stimulated Japan to exertions which will soon make her the fourth naval power of the world. It will conduct a stream of European migration into Asia. This route to the Orient portends so much and has made so secondary the importance of the way to Constantinople, in comparison with this greater highway toward Asiatic empire, that the guideboard which Catherine set up at Kherson and inscribed, "The road to Constantinople," marks merely a footpath to a hamlet.

It is not necessary to elaborate upon the interests of the United States in the present and prospective situation. They present and enforce themselves from every point of view. The maritime, commercial, and political genius of the American people will not permit their government to be indifferent to them. It will not suffer the United States to be made the China of the West. The great question remains, and comprehends the commercial and all other subjects: What action by the United States do its peace and safety require to insure to it the rightful and most advantageous results of these new international relations and adjustments? The situation in the Chinese Orient is pregnant with wars, and wars in these days of fleets built of steel and driven by steam are different from those of the times of wooden walls and sails. There is not a habitable spot on the earth's surface too remote or secluded or too strong to be exempt from the attacks of rapacious and unscrupulous military and naval power. All history is false, or this is true, that such wars are inevitable. Their arena has been enormously extended. The recent aggressions by the powers of Europe upon China were acts of war. It is not long since the war between Japan and China ended by depriving the latter

power of her fleet, by compelling her to pay an enormous indemnity and provisionally to cede a portion of her territory of the greatest military and naval importance, of which Japan was in her turn deprived by the duress of Russia and Germany, only to see Russia substantially acquire the same territory and Germany make a compensatory seizure near by.

Next to China the Pacific possessions of the United States are the most inviting objects of attack. Under existing conditions their defence would be difficult. Had Spain triumphed at Manila as decisively as did the United States, her navy could have seized Honolulu and have operated from there upon the entire coast of the United States from Mexico to the Yukon. An overpowering European force in Asiatic waters could do the same thing; so could Japan.

The situation is plainly one of alternatives. The United States must become an efficient element in the Asiatic situation, or it must entirely abstain from any participation in it, return to its own shores, receive the smallest possible share of its commercial advantages, and prepare for its own defence against the same aggressions which have reduced China to her present condition. It may be objected that all this is without precedent. So it is. But all great human evolutions must precede precedents in order to create them.

The present war has restored confidence to those who feared that the spirit of our people and their patriotism had been enervated by a long and prosperous peace. That they would support the government no one doubted. But it only faintly hoped that a war, not onerous when compared with our resources, would completely fuse all political and sectional differences into unanimity of support to the honor, dignity and safety of the nation.

It is now manifest that the United States will be at the conclusion of this war a great and actual naval and military power. Many thousands of her citizens will be trained to modern warfare on land and sea. The military spirit has inspired the people. They have been raised to a higher plane of patriotism. The additions to our fleet have been very considerable, and that fleet will never be less. The appropriations for its increase,

already liberal, will continue to be so. The astounding victories at Manila and at Santiago have convinced our people of the vital importance of the sea power. The organization and operation of a great army and navy will teach them their own strength.

The heroism of our soldiers and sailors will be a heritage of national glory and honor. Our people were carried to the highest top of national pride by witnessing at Manila and Santiago (to paraphrase Napier), with what majesty the American sailor fights. It is also perceived with the greatest satisfaction that certain exponents of European opinion, who until recently spoke with a condescending assumption of superiority of intervening in the present contest, have abated their arrogance of expression.

The Monroe doctrine, in the sense of an intention by this Government to intervene to prevent encroachments by European nations upon the republics of the Western hemisphere has been confirmed, and has received a steady force. The press of Continental Europe has adopted during the last few years a fashion of resenting even any theoretical assertion of this great principle of American security, which was recently characterized by Prince Bismarck as a doctrine of "uncommon insolence." It is now probable that any European power will deliberate before acting upon that assumption.

The necessity for the immediate construction of the Nicaragua Canal has been undeniably demonstrated by recent events. The voyage and perils of the Oregon are conclusive upon this proposition.

The unpleasant relations which have existed between the United States and England for so many years were caused by a traditional aversion which was aggravated by certain events of our civil war and by many minor irritating controversies, the worst feature of which is the fact that few of them have ever been settled. But through all this it has been felt by the people of both countries that a tie binds them together, however much they may irritate each other by straining it.

Aversion and even specific controversies between peoples so related are often composed by the force of events with which their connection seems merely ideal and sympathetic. Such

pacifying forces are so subtle and impalpable that they can often be perceived long before they can be described. The difficulty of indication exists in the present instance, but, notwithstanding, it is very plain that a change of sentiment, of expression, and of the general contour of relations between the two nations has taken place.

The conviction, heretofore only imperfectly felt and only partially, infrequently, and fitfully acknowledged, is now clearly operative, and is openly and spontaneously expressed, that the 125,000,000 people who speak the English language, who have established representative governments and maintained personal liberty in every portion of the world, whose conceptions of faith, literature, morals, education, popular government, and individual freedom are cognate at all times and everywhere, whose civilization, though developed is not decadent, but is still progressive, who have heretofore taken no step backward in an expansion of influence and empire without comparison in history, are amicably approaching each other under the pressure of a great human evolution.

From the New York Sun.

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